

## Message Text

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R 030837Z JUL 74

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1338

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 7501

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: HONG KONG PRC CADRE COMMENTS ABOUT CURRENT POLITICAL  
MOVEMENT

REF: HONG KONG 6794; HONG KONG 6253

SUMMARY. HONG KONG PRC CADRE HAS PROVIDED COMPREHENSIVE EXPOSITION  
OF PRESENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TO WESTERN SOURCE WHICH, BECAUSE  
OF ITS POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE IN UNDERSTANDING THE CURRENT  
CAMPAIGN, WE ARE REPORTING TELEGRAPHICALLY AND IN DETAIL. THE  
CADRE SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST,  
STATED THAT CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ORDERED THAT OFFICIALS  
AND LEADERS UNDER CRITICISM MUST REMAIN AT POST PENDING  
INVESTIGATION AND RESOLUTION OF CHARGES. PREVENTING THOSE  
CRITICIZED FROM RESIGNING  
OR STEPPING DOWN AVOIDS BREAKDOWN OF AUTHORITY AND CHAOS THAT  
OCCURRED IN CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IN ROOTING OUT LIN BIAO  
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FOLLOWERS, A THREE-CATEGORY STANDARD WILL BE USED. CADRE

SOURCE ALSO SAID PURPOSE OF PRESENT CAMPAIGN IS TO PURIFY AND DECONTAMINATE STATE AND PARTY IN PREPARATION FOR LEADER SUCCESSION. EVERYONE, ESPECIALLY CADRE AND LEADERS, ARE CALLED UPON TO MAKE SCRIFICES AND ACTS OF ABNEGATION. ON POLITBURO LEVEL, WANG HUNG-WEN, CHIANG CHING AND YAO WEN-YUAN WERE NAMED BY SOURCE AS THOSE WHO WILL TAKE OVER TOP LEVEL LEADERSHIP. SIGNIFICANTLY NO MENTION WAS MADE OF PREMIER CHOU IN THIS CONTEXT ALTHOUGH CADRE SOURCE IS CONFIRMED CHOU SUPPORTER. SOURCE INDICATED IF ALL GOES WELL, NPC WOULD BE HELD EITHER SHORTLY BEFORE OR AFTER OCTOBER 1 NATIONAL DAY. END SUMMARY.

1. FRB DEPUTY CONGEN BENTE PASED TO U.S. CONGENOFF INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM EXTENDED AND FASCINATING JUL 1 POLITICAL DISCUSSION WITH FEI I-MIN, PUBLISHER -EDITOR PRC -OWNED HONG KONG TA KUNG PAO. FEI BEGAN WITH EXTENDED REMARKS ON HOW PRESENT INTERNAL POLITICAL MOVEMENT WAS MOVING FORWARD IN WELL DISCIPLINED AND STRUCTURED WAY UNDER DIRECTION OF PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, NOTING IT HAD REACHED NEW PAHSE WITH PUBLIC CRITICISM IN FOREFRONT. AIRING OF CRITICISM WAS ESSENTIAL TO CORRECTION OR ERRORS AND FAULTS OF CADRE, INCLUDING LEADERS, AND THERE WAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM SUCH CRITICISM. RE EFFECT OF THIS CRITICISM ON STABILITY , FEI SAID LESSONS HAD BEEN LEARNED FROM INSTANCES DURING CUTLURAL REVOLUTION WHERE BREAKDOWN OF LINES OF AUTHORITY AND CONFUSION HAD OCCURRED. PRC LEADERSHIP HAD TAKEN THESE INSTANCES AND THEIR CAUSES INTO ACCOUNT. THAT WAS WHY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD ISSUED ORDER DIRECTING THAT ALL LEADERS AND OFFICIALS RECEIVING CRITICISM MUST REMAIN AT THEIR POSTS. UNLIKE CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD SUCH PERSONS WERE NOT TO STEP DOWN OR RESIGN FROM THEIR POSITIONS BUT MUST CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES OF OFFICE PENDING JUDGEMENT WHETHER CRITICISM HAS MERITY AND ULTIMATE DISPOSAL OF CASE. HENCE, SAID FEI, TOP PARTY FIGURES IN YUNNAN , HUNAN AND LI TEH-SHENG WERE STILL AT THEIR POSTS. CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS PRESCRIBED PROCEDURE ALONG WITH EVIDENCE FOR FORWARD ING ON TO PEKING WHERE, "COMPETENT AUTHORITIES" WOULD JUDGE EACH CASE ON MERITS AND MAKE RESOLUTION OF CASE. SUCH PROCEDURE WOULD OBIVATE UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE.

2. IN ELABORATION OF CRITERIA BY WHICH TARGETS OF CAMPAIGN AND  
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THOSE CRITICIZED WOULD BE JUDGED, FEI SAID DEVRITY OF TREATMENT WOULD VARY ACCORDING TO PLACEMENT IN FOLLOWING THREE CATEGORIES: (1) "SWORN FOLLOWERS" OF LIN PIAO. THESE WERE IRREVOCABLY "DAMNED" AND THERE TO BE NO HOPE FOR THEM; (2) THOSE WHO HAVE BECOME FOLLOWERS BY "INADVERTENCE", AND (3) THOSE WHOSE INVOLVEMENT WITH LIN PIAO STEM FROM TRYING TO BE KIND AND RENDERING SERVICES TO LIN PIAO AND SWORN FOLLOWERS WITH HOPE OF GAIN FOR THEMSELVES.

EXPLAINING CATEGORY TWO FEI SAID THAT FOLLOWING SINO-SOVIET BORDER CLASH OF 1969 UNKNOWN TO THOSE OUTSIDE PRC LIN PIAO HAD ISSUED ORDERS DIRECTION THAT (A) UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, (B) CERTAIN INDUSTRIES AND PLANTS, AND (C) SELECTED CATEGORIES OF URBAN POPULATION, SUCH AS ELDERLY OR YOUNG, IN CERTAIN GEOGRAPHIC AREAS BE EVACUATED TO THE INTERIOR OF CHINA. THE REAL PURPOSE OF LIN'S ORDER HAD BEEN TO CREATE CONFUSION WITHIN CHINA AND TO WEAKEN AND DISRUPT ORDER IN THE COUNTRY. THOSE AUTHORITIES AND LEADERS WHO THROUGH DEFICIENCY IN JUDGEMENT AND INATTENTION CARRIED OUT THESE ORDERS WERE ONE EXAMPLE OF "FOLLOWERS BY INADVERTENCY". PERSONS IN SECOND AND THIRD CATEGORIES WOULD HAVE THEIR CASES INDIVIDUALLY EXAMINED AND IF ONE'S ATTITUDE AND RECORD HAD MERIT, HE COULD BE REHABILITATED.

3. ASKED ABOUT OVERALL PURPOSE AND GOAL OF PRESENT MOVEMENT, FEI SAID SPECIFICALLY THAT UNDER CENTRAL COMMITTEE DIRECTION IT WAS AIMED AT PURIFYING STATE AND PARTY AND PREPARING FOR LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION, CHAIRMAN MAO AND PREMIER CHOU KNEW THEY FACE BEING TAKEN BY DEATH AND MUST COPE WITH WHAT THIS WILL MEAN FOR CHINA. THUS IT IS ESSENTIAL TO LEAVE STATE AND PARTY IN AS ABSOLUTELY PURE AND UNTAINTED CONDITION AS POSSIBLE TO FULFILL DESTINY. TO CARRY OUT THIS VITAL ENTERPRISE EVERY PERSON HAD TO MAKE PERSONAL SACRIFICE AND ACTS OF ABNEGATION.

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USIA-15 IO-14 SAM-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 OMB-01 /108 W

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4. FEI THEN CITED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RE PLA AND PLA COMMAND STRUCTURE AS ILLUSTRATION. IN DECEMBER 1973 CHAIRMAN MAO HIMSELF HAD CALLED WITH REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS TO PEKING TO CONFRONT EACH WITH OPTION OF HAVING EITHER A MILITARY OR CIVILIAN IDENTITY BUT NOT BOTH. HE GAVE THEM EIGHT DAYS TO DECIDE AND IF ONE CHOSE THE MILITARY CAPACITY HE WAS TO TAKE A COMMAND TRANSFER, REPORTING TO THE NEW POST BY NEW YEAR'S DAY WITHOUT PERSONAL FOLLOWERS AND RETINUE. THIS WAS AN EXAMPLE OF ABNEGATION ON PARTY OF TOP MILITARY COMMANDERS AND HAS BEEN CARRIED THROUGH UP AND DOWN THE LINE. FEI STRESSED THAT THIS HAD NOT AFFECTED PLA'S FIGHTING CAPACITY IN THE LEAST. THIS WAS PROVED BY HSU SHIH-YU'S COMMAND OF PLA OPERATIONS IN THE PARACEL ISLANDS BATTLE AGAINST THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE LAST JANUARY NOT LONG AFTER HE ASSUMED COMMAND OF THE CANTON MILITARY REGION. FEI ADDED THAT PAI HSIANG-KUO, WHO LAST FALL LEFT HIS POST OF MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE TO RETURN TO THE MILITARY, WAS ONE OF THE FIRST SOLDIERS TO MAKE THE CHOICE. CONFIDENTIAL

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FEI CONTINUED THAT HE RECENTLY SAW THE FORMER VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CANTON FAIR COMMITTEE AND HAD ADDRESSED HIM AS VICE CHAIRMAN, ONLY TO BE CORRECTED BY THE LATTER WHO SAID HE WAS NOW THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF FOR CANTON MILITARY DISTRICT.

5. IN RESPONSE TO BENTE'S QUESTION ABOUT HOW THE PROCESS OF SUCCESSION WILL WORK, FEI ASSERTED THAT CHAIRMAN MAO HAD LONG AGO ENUNCIATED THE THEORY OF "THREE IN ONE COMBINATION" I.E. THE OLD, THE MIDDLE AGED, AND THE YOUNG CADRE COMBINING TOGETHER, AND THIS WOULD APPLY TO THE POLITIBURO IN PARTICULAR. AS TO

THE ROLE OF EACH, FEI SAID SPECIFICALLY THAT THE POLTICURO " " MIDDLE AGED GROUP" OF WANG HUNG-WEN, CHIANG CHIN AND YAO WEN-YUAN WOULD TAKE OVER THE LEADERSHIP (BENTEO NOTED THAT FEI DID NOT MENTION CHANG CHUN-CHIAO BUT DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS WAS INTENTIONAL OR INADVERTENT), THE OLDER LEADERS FOR THEIR PAST WOULD COUNSEL AND ADVISE THE MIDDLE AGED AND YOUNG, WHILE THE YOUNG LEADERS WOULD HAVE THE ROLE OF PUSHING AND STIMULATING THE MIDDLE -AGED GROUP INTO ACTION. THIS WOULD BE CONCRETE TOP LEVEL APPLICATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S THEORY. FEI SAID THAT DURING A DINNER WITH CHOU EN-LAI, FEI HAD THE CHANCE TO MEET WANG HUNG-WEN PERSONALLY. FEI PRAISED WANG AS A VERY FINE MAN AND SAID IT WAS REMARKABLE HOW WELL EDUCATED A WORKER COULD BE. HE SAID THAT WANG WAS A REAL LEADER BUT WOULD NOT TAKE UP ANY GOVERNMENT

POSITION, HE WOULD WORK IN THE PARTY. THERE WAS A NEED FOR EXPERIENCED MEN IN GOVERNMENT AND TENG HSIAO -PING WILL BE THE PRIME MINISTER SUCCEEDING CHOU- EN-LAI. LI HSIANE -NEIEN WOULD TAKE OVER LIN PIAO'S FORMER JOB AS DEFENSE MINISTER. MAO HAS ALSO MADE PREPARATIONS TO HAVE THE THREE-IN - ONE THEORY APPLY ON GOVERNMENT SIDE ALSO.

6. RESPONDING TO QUESTIONAS TO WHETHER THIS WAS THE FINAL PHASE OF THE CAMPAIGN TO BE CAPPED BY THE FOURTH NPC, FEI REPLIED THAT THIS WAS THE BASIC AIM BUT OF COURSE SOME DIFFICULTIES AND DELAYS COULD OCCUR TO OFFSET ESTIMATED TIMETABLE. PRESSED TO GIVE A POSSIBLE DATE FOR THE NPC, FEI NOTED THAT HE HIMSELF HAD RESERVED EARLY AND MID-SEPTEMBER AS A PERIOD HE WOULD NEED TO BE IN PEKING. THIS BEING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER 1 FOUNDING OF THE PRC, THE AIM WOULD BE TO HAVE THE NPC EITHER BEFOREOR JUST AFTER OCTOBER 1 NATIONAL DAY.

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7. FEI CONCLUDED DISCUSSION WITH COMMENT TO EFFECT THAT ONE MAJOR REASON WHY PRC HAD BEEN CONDUCTING OUTWARD LOOKING DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL EFFORTS WAS TO PROVIDE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR SMOOTH INTERNAL LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION. FEI DID NOT DISCUSS SPECIFIC FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUES IN THIS CONTEXT BUT GIST OF HIS REMARKS WAS THAT THROUGH EXPASION OF FOREIGN TIES AND CONTACTS PRC'S NATIONAL SECURITY WAS BETTER ASSURED AND THEREFORE ITS PROCESS OF LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION WOULD BE SUBJECT TO LESS PRESSURE.

8. BENTE STRONGLY REQUESTED THAT BOTH HE AND FEI AS SOURCES BE PROTECTED AND ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO TREAT ABOVE INFORMATION ACCORDINGLY.

9. COMMENT. WE WOULD AGREE WITH BENTE THAT THIS IS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE EXPOSITION ABOUT THE INTERNAL POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT WE HAVE HEARD FOR ANY HONG KONG PRC CADRE. BENTE NOTES THAT FEI WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE DEFININTE ABOUT THE ROLE OF VARIOUS POLITIBURO FIGURES THAN A FEW WEEKS EARLIER -( REFTEL), SUGGESTING FEI HAD RECEIVED ADDITINAL GUIDANCE OR INFORMATION FROM PEKING IN THE INTERIM. IT IS SIGNIFICAT THAT FEI, A CONFIRMED CHOUIST, IN DISCUSSING THE SUCCESSION CENAIRO OMITTED ANY MENTION OF CHOU EN-LAI. APPARENTLY FEI'S BELIEF THAT CHOU WILL ASSUME INACTIVE PARTY ELDER ROLE HAD BEEN REINFORCED. RE REFERENCE IN PARA TWO ABOVE ABOUT 1969 EVACUATION MOVES ORDERED BY LIN PIAO, WE NOTE THAT REPORTS OF WAR PREPARATIONS WERE INDEED EVIDENT FROM LATE 1969 THROUGH TO ABOUT FEBRUARY -MARCH 1970.  
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## Message Attributes

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